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THE ROLE OF TERRITORIAL COOPERATION IN SUPPORTING JUST TRANSITION

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1 INTRODUCTION

This brief research paper summarises the key findings of a project which has looked at the role of territorial cooperation in supporting the delivery of Just Transition in the remote and sparsely-populated areas of the (European) Arctic and near Arctic (or the High North¹, which is used in tandem to represent the wider Arctic/northern peripheral neighbourhood in this project).

Within EU Member States, the term Just Transition is commonly associated with the EU's Just Transition Mechanism (JTM). However, this project has adopted a broader perspective looking at the way territorial cooperation (programmes and projects in particular) approach the transition to a sustainable and carbon-neutral society in the High North.

The questions and issues the project has aimed to explore include:

- How have cooperation projects/initiatives worked with the theme of Just Transition and how have these benefitted the remote and peripheral areas of the Arctic/near Arctic?
- (How) have cooperation projects/initiatives engaged with different stakeholder groups concerning the theme of Just Transition? What are the lessons learned?
- What is the added value of working collaboratively on the theme of Just Transition in the remote and peripheral areas of the Arctic/near Arctic?
- What innovative/best practice project examples/initiatives have helped to deliver Just Transition through cooperation?
- What are the key lessons (including challenges to be addressed, opportunities to be pursued) for future cooperation on the theme of Just Transition for the remote and peripheral areas of the Arctic/near Arctic?

The project, which has received funding by the Arctic Connections Fund of the Scottish Government, started in October 2021 and will run until the end of March 2022. The project entails a number of phases, including:

- Desk research and selected interviews;
- Identification of good practice examples/initiatives concerning the theme of Just Transition and territorial cooperation;
- Drafting of this brief research paper summarising the key findings of the above and providing the basis for discussion at the interactive (online) workshop;
- Organisation of an online workshop with key stakeholders concerning the theme of territorial cooperation and Just Transition to exchange experiences; and
- Dissemination activities through a blog article, (finalised) research paper, and discussion notes and recording (YouTube link) of the workshop, which will be disseminated through online media (social media and websites).

In addition to providing conclusions and recommendations on the role of territorial cooperation in supporting the delivery of Just Transition in remote and sparsely-populated

areas in the High North, the project is intended to pave the way for informing and establishing new partnerships on territorial cooperation between Scotland and the Arctic, especially for the post-2021 period.

2 UNDERSTANDING JUST TRANSITION

The origins of the Just Transition concept are commonly linked to the North American trade union movement of the late 20th century. However, it is not until more recently that the Just Transition concept has become widely used in the context of the pressing climate emergency and the need for a swift transition to a sustainable and carbon-neutral society which takes place in a more just and inclusive manner. Just Transition has gained momentum notably following the United Nation's Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC)², the United Nation's Agenda 2030 and the Sustainable Development Goals,³ the European Union's Green Deal⁴, and national commitments for delivering the transition to net zero through the Just Transition Plans and various support mechanisms for the production and monitoring of such plans, such as the establishment of a Just Transition Commission in Scotland.

There are different definitions and interpretations of the concept of Just Transition, but commonly these encapsulate at least three different dimensions. For example, for the Scottish Government, a Just Transition can be seen as both the **outcome** – a fairer, greener future for all – and the (ongoing)¹ **process** that must be undertaken in partnership with those impacted by the transition to net zero. It supports a net zero and climate resilient economy in a way that delivers fairness and tackles inequality and injustice.⁵

A further important aspect is the **place**, which is to ensure that the transition policies are based on territorial specificities that meet the needs of local and regional actors. These three key principles are recognised by the EU as the key dimensions in the development and implementation of Just Transition climate processes and policies.⁶

Figure 1: Just Transition – key dimensions



The Just Transition to a sustainable and carbon-neutral society requires action and engagement from all stakeholders to develop targeted economic diversification and transition plans.⁷ Capacity of stakeholders is a key 'cross cutting enabler' of the Just Transition

¹ This project describes it as an 'ongoing process' in order to underline the ongoing nature of the transition.

approach, and it requires the mapping of influence and interests of key actors, consultation, public outreach, and capacity building (e.g. skills development and knowledge sharing).

In the EU Member States, Just Transition is commonly associated with the Just Transition Mechanism (JTM), see **Error! Reference source not found.** Furthermore, in the EU context, Just Transition is usually associated with the support for workers employed in fossil-fuels extraction or in industries dependent on fossil fuels, whose jobs may be disappearing as the economy moves towards carbon neutrality. The focus has gradually expanded towards whole communities whose economy has been disproportionately highly dependent on fossil fuels. The justice in transition is considered more often for regions and communities where transition is connected to higher costs due to their geographical, economic, energy-use and infrastructural characteristics, such as sparsely-populated regions of northern Europe (e.g. the approach of the Finnish government). By contrast, in Central-Eastern Europe, it is still used virtually exclusively for coal industry employees and, to a limited degree, their communities. Therefore in the Just Transition Fund (JTF), the focus is still primarily on the fossil fuels sectors (or heavy industry), even if it is much broader in principle.

This project has adopted a broader perspective looking more generally at the 'spirit' of approaching the transition to a sustainable and carbon-neutral society. For example, in Sweden, the term 'Just Transition' is rarely used within national and regional climate and energy strategies. Outside the EU's JTM framework, the terms 'climate transition' and 'green transition' are more commonly used and linked to sustainable development and the UN's Agenda 2030.⁸ The 'Just' / 'Fair' element has, however, become crucial to ensure that the transition process takes place in a fair way, addressing relevant employment and social aspects.

Box 1: Just Transition Mechanism and the Just Transition Fund

As part of the European Green Deal, the Just Transition Mechanism (JTM) was set up to leave no person and no region behind in the transition towards a climate-neutral economy. The JTM addresses the social and economic effects of the transition, through 3 pillars: (1) Just Transition Fund (JTF), (2) Invest EU 'Just Transition' scheme, and (3) Public Sector Loan Facility.

The first pillar, the JTF, is set to invest €19.2 billion in 2021-27 in the territories most affected by the transition. Access to the JTF, which is implemented within the remit of Cohesion Policy, is conditional on the development of the territorial Just Transition Plans.⁹

The territorial Just Transition Plans outline e.g.:

- Regional climate transition processes until 2030;
- Eligible territories and their main climate-related challenges;
- Needed socio-economic and environmental actions and governance mechanisms posed by the transition;
- Commitment to open and inclusive processes.

The [JTF Regulation](#) entered into force on 1 July 2021.

3 JUST TRANSITION IN THE HIGH NORTH

“Just Transition is a complex topic with many perspectives that differ between regions, countries and demographic groups. No one solution or strategy fits all, but there is a need for a transition to a climate-neutral economy, which takes place in a fair way.”

Climate change does not recognise national borders, although the impact of climate transition will be very different between the countries and regions across Europe and the world.^{10,11} Every region and community is different and not all will automatically benefit from the transition to net-zero emissions.

The High North countries have all developed energy and climate policies which are often featured as amongst the most ambitious in the world. However, despite the ambitious plans and targets (see e.g. Table 1), historical trends suggest that further efforts are needed, for example greenhouse gas emissions in the Nordic countries are still above the national targets.¹²

Table 1: Net zero GHG emissions by

 Finland	 Iceland	 Sweden	 Scotland	 Norway
2035	2040	2045	2045	2050

Source: OECD

In Finland and Sweden, work with issues related to green transition has been ongoing for some time (and taken place also outside the EU framework). However, more recently Just Transition has become increasingly linked to the activities undertaken under the EU's JTM (see examples below). The Just Transition in these countries is focussed on those regions and sectors dependent on fossil fuels and energy-intensive processes, including remote and sparsely-populated communities and sectors such as peat, steel and metal.

Finland. A total of 14 regions (out of 21 regions) are eligible JTF regions. In addition to the entire North and East Finland, JTF covers also selected regions and municipalities in the South and West of Finland. The highest share of 20 percent of the JTF funding is allocated to Pohjois-Pohjanmaa (North Ostrobothnia).¹³ The Just Transition in Finland is concerned with the peat sector and with fossil fuel based energy production.



Box 2: Just Transition in the EU Arctic – the case of Finland

In Finland, the JTF will primarily support transition away from peat. Approximately 5 percent of the energy supply comes from peat burning, making Finland the largest user of peat energy in the EU. This energy source represents over 15 percent of the country's GHG emissions by the energy sector. While Finland aims at carbon neutrality by 2035, peat burning is expected to only halve by 2030, although the change is also strongly facilitated by carbon pricing. Northern and eastern regions are key users of peat. The transition will impact municipalities and companies using this source of energy as well as various enterprises specialised in peat burning technologies and equipment. Industry representatives estimate that the industry creates directly and indirectly as many as 10,000 jobs.¹⁴ Finland will receive over €400 million from the JTF to support the transition away from peat.

The just transition debate in the context of the sparsely-populated eastern and northern regions covers a broader scope of issues. The current government is committed in its programme to a regionally fair transition towards a low-carbon economy, underlining the need to take into account regional differences (for a broad spectrum of policies and solutions). For instance, the aim to make the Finnish transport system more sustainable is to be preceded by an impact assessment with an objective “to build a socially, societally and regionally sustainable operating framework to ensure that the differences in income and wealth will not widen”. The aim of regional just transition is also repeated in the Arctic policy statement published in 2021.¹⁵ The Finnish Climate Panel underlines in its report on just transition in Finland that the just transition also concerns a balance of burden between the regions in terms of production of renewables and extraction of critical minerals aimed at meeting the increasing demand generated by the expansion of low-carbon technologies (renewables, car batteries, energy efficiency solutions etc.).¹⁶

Sweden. The industries and regions eligible for JTF are the steel industry in Norrbotten, the cement industry in Gotland, refineries and the petro-chemical industry in Västra Götaland, and the metal industry in Västerbotten. These have been selected as they contribute to the largest shares of carbon emissions in Sweden.¹⁷ The regions of Norrbotten (see Box 3) and Västerbotten in the northern Sweden are examples of remote and sparsely-populated regions implementing the Just Transition.

Box 3: Just Transition in the EU Arctic – the case of Norrbotten of Sweden

- The economy is dominated by extractive activities, e.g. mining, but also forestry, and the primary transformation of materials.
- Metal ore and steel processing are very important for the regional economy (together account around 25 percent of the Swedish export value).
- These sectors also directly/indirectly account for 92 percent of the industrial emissions of Norrbotten.
- A loss of competitiveness and increase in unemployment in these sectors would have negative consequences for the local labour markets and the regional economy.

Norrbotten aims to be the frontrunner in Green Transition in the EU!

- The transition will mostly involve investments in hydro and wind power.
- Major steel plants are working towards fossil-free steel production.

- Investments are also required in infrastructure, and the new production of green energy (e.g. wind power).

Source: Just Transition Platform, presentation by Nils-Olov Lindfors, Regional Councillor of the Region Norrbotten, <https://jtp.app.swapcard.com/event/just-transition-platform-meeting/planning/UGxhbm5pbmdfMzk5ODZz>

In the non-EU Member States of the High North, the approach to Just Transition varies. For example, Scotland has pursued a structured approach by setting up a Just Transition Commission (see below), while in Norway and Iceland, while there are ambitious climate commitments, there are no explicit Just Transition policies or strategies in place.

In **Scotland**, the Scottish Government established a Just Transition Commission (JTC) in  September 2018 to advise on transitioning all sectors of the economy to become net-zero emissions and more inclusive. The JTC's work looks beyond the transitioning of oil and gas workers to the overall strengths and assets of Scotland to respond to economic trends and realising the climate targets. It is focussed on stakeholder engagement and connecting the Just Transitioning with broader policy priorities, from the concept of 'fair work' to peatland restoration and reforestation.¹⁸

Whilst there are clear and ambitious climate commitments and a push for change by e.g.  environmental and youth organisations as well as some Norwegian trade unions, **Norway** has no explicit Just Transition policies or strategies in place. Due to the country's high dependency on oil and gas, the focus appears to be on generating green jobs alongside the existing carbon-intensive areas.¹⁹ The Just Transition was reported by the Government for the first time (albeit marginally) in connection with Norway's nationally determined contribution (NDC) for 2021-2030.²⁰ However, there have been efforts in Norway which have focussed on ensuring that electric charging stations are available across the territory, with major investments in the northern counties so that these areas are not left behind in the road transport transition.

 **Iceland** has also no specific measures for Just Transition in the Icelandic Climate Action Plan (CAP). Work on Just Transition measures was set to take place in the autumn of 2021 (a review of CAP with a focus on Just Transition).²¹

3.1 Actions and interventions of Just Transition

The Just Transition approaches cover a wide range of actions and interventions. For example in Scotland, the Just Transition Commission has outlined four key headline messages (and a further 24 sub-messages), which focus e.g. on the need for a managed transition to net-zero with benefits and opportunities for all; on skills and education; on the empowerment of communities; and on sharing the benefits of climate actions, see Annex 1.

In the EU Member States, the activities of the EU's territorial Just Transition Plans are defined in Article 8 of the JTF Regulation.²² In short, the JTF supports the economic diversification and reconversion of eligible territories, including investments in SMEs, creation of new firms, R&D&I,

environmental rehabilitation, clean energy, up- and reskilling of workers, assistance with job search, and transformation of existing carbon-intensive installations.²³

While the targets are set at the national level, there are often quite different territorial implications, particularly for remote and sparsely populated areas of the High North. In Norrbotten in northern Sweden, the proposed Just Transition actions are linked to the need to transition to carbon neutral steel production, and include e.g. related R&D&I activities, skills development for the steel industry, and efforts to promote the use of recycled materials as well as support for environmentally-friendly production processes and resource efficiency, see also Table 2.

Table 2: Just Transition actions in Norrbotten (Sweden)

Just Transition actions	Just Transition in Norrbotten
Investments in clean energy technology and infrastructure	<p>Transition to carbon neutral steel production.</p> <p>Innovation for the production of raw materials/materials necessary for a transition to a fossil-free society; R&D&I for large-scale energy storage; development and implementation of fossil-free technologies and other alternative energy carriers and raw materials.</p> <p>Mapping of skills needs in the steel industry; support for networks and clusters for skills-enhancing initiatives in the steel industry; retraining and skills development; skills validation measures; strengthening of the companies' strategic work with skills issues.</p> <p>Efforts to promote the use of recycled materials as raw material; support for environmentally-friendly production processes and resource efficiency.</p>
Investments in R&D&I and technology transfer	
Skills upgrading and retraining of employees	
Investments in circular economy	

Source: Swedish territorial Just Transition Plan for Norrbotten, adapted from Moodie J, Tapia C, Löfving L, Sánchez Gassen N, Cedergren E (2021) Towards a Territorially Just Climate Transition – Assessing the Swedish EU Territorial Just Transition Plan Development Process, 5 July 2021

3.2 Unique challenges & opportunities in the remote communities

“Communities in extremely remote and sparsely-populated areas, particularly in the Arctic and near Arctic, face unique and complex challenges in relation to pursuing and experiencing Just Transition.”

The challenges and opportunities related to delivering Just Transition vary depending on the territory in question. In the countries of the High North, **communities in the extremely remote, sparsely-populate, rural and island areas**, face unique and complex challenges in relation to pursuing and experiencing Just Transition. These are related to e.g.:²⁴

- Geographic remoteness (and associated issues with accessibility, e.g. higher dependency on cars);
- Low population density;
- Limited economic diversity, and educational and employment opportunities (also higher dependency on sectors such as manufacturing or mining than in the urban areas);
- Demographic challenges (declining population, ageing, out-migration of the youth/women);
- Declining provision of services;
- Potentially vulnerable population groups (e.g. indigenous peoples, youth, disabled, elderly);
- Direct and immediate environmental effects of climate change (e.g. vulnerability of the Arctic areas);
- Capacity issues for transition (e.g. human capital, finances, infrastructure, or resources to address the challenges).

In Norrbotten in northern Sweden (as is the case in other remote and sparsely populated communities of the High North), there are specific challenges related to **demographic development** trends, as well as to the needs of the **Sámi people**. In Norrbotten, the ageing population structure and the out-migration of young skilled people is a major challenge in the transition process, as in order to benefit from the opportunities of climate transition, access to the right skills is necessary. Other challenges include the highly gender-segregated industrial make-up of the region, as well as the vulnerability of the Sámi people to climate change and in the climate transition. Climate change, as well as the policies and measures to support the transition, affect the unique culture and traditional livelihoods of the Sámi people. Due to the potential negative impacts of climate change and the climate transition measures on the Sámi's traditional way of life, a key focus is on close consultation and engagement. Nonetheless, despite the dialogue with the Sámi Parliament regarding the Just Transition plan of Norrbotten, the Sámi representatives have argued that policies and legislation to support the climate transition have so far not adequately reflected their interests and that their traditional rights have not been respected. Therefore it has been highlighted that in order to increase the legitimacy of the climate transition process in Norrbotten, the Sámi community needs to be more strongly involved in decision making processes, especially in connection with land management issues.²⁵

Box 4: Sámi and the Just Transition

The Sámi people have traditional lands across the northern parts of Finland, Sweden and Norway and Russia's Kola Peninsula, and have continued to practice their culture and traditional livelihoods, including reindeer husbandry. While they have a specific indigenous status, and several laws and policies acknowledge the rights for the Sámi to reindeer husbandry within their traditional areas, they continue to face various challenges.

In the Just Transition process, there are key issues such as whether the transition process reflects the interest of the Sámi (e.g. the development and impact of renewable energy projects on the traditional lands); whether the rights of the Sámi people are considered in line with the principle of no one is left behind in the transition to sustainable development; and whether the Sámi people are effectively engaged in the Just Transition process.²⁶

In the remote and rural areas of Scotland, it is commonly highlighted that the transition to net zero needs to be delivered with a full understanding of the rural context, which is different from the urban context (e.g. using for example rural proofing to ensure that policies are fit for purpose).²⁷ This highlights the importance of regional assessment/evaluation work regarding climate change impacts and climate policy implications more widely (and this is also important in terms of building institutional capacities for planning for Just Transition (see Box 5), and crucial for participatory approaches to planning and implementation).

Various mechanisms have been set up to address the different challenges related to Just Transition. For example, in Scotland, the Just Transition Commission has the remit to provide practical, affordable and actionable recommendations to Scottish ministers. In the EU, the European Commission's Just Transition Platform has been established to assist EU countries and regions with the Just Transition. The access point and helpdesk provide technical and advisory support, as well as organisation of exchanges between involved stakeholders. In addition, the Just Transition Platform working groups have been established with the aim of promoting exchanges and development of practical solutions to ensure that the Just Transition happens in a fair way, leaving no one behind. In addition, there are also more targeted tools, such as the Toolkit for Youth Participation in the Just Transition Fund, which is intended to support the involvement of young people in the implementation of the JTF (e.g. by providing principles, best practices and strategies). The Toolkit mentions for example the Barents Regional Youth Council (BRYC) as an example of a source of inspiration for developing youth councils for transnational regions affected by the transition.²⁸

Box 5: Capacities for Just Transition

Imbalances in capacities – SMEs and municipalities may be more limited in expertise and resources in comparison to larger operators and firms.

Capacity-building is therefore important...

Institutional capacity – the transition requires a cultural change and new skills and incentives from local governments. This could include peer-to-peer learning between smaller and remote communities or making use of regional experts.

Community capacity – involvement of local stakeholders, local communities, marginalised groups (e.g. indigenous people, youth, women) can enhance effective decision-making and governance.

Source: Adapted from OECD (2020), *Managing Environmental and Energy Transitions for Regions and Cities*, OECD Publishing, Paris, <https://doi.org/10.1787/f0c6621f-en>.

While some areas will benefit hugely from the transition, others will face more challenges. Learning from past experience (e.g. experiences related to industrial transition, e.g. the end of coal mining) can be important to ensure that the residents and communities that face difficulties are protected.²⁹

However, there are also a number of opportunities for the more remote, sparsely-populated and rural areas, including e.g.³⁰

- Important hubs for the preservation of ecosystems and natural capital;
- Transition can create new economic opportunities and health benefits (e.g. through more focus on renewable energy, which in turn will impact air quality etc.);
- Opportunity for innovations that are tailored to the remote and sparsely-populated areas (and can become leading examples for other areas);
- Inclusion and engagement of local residents which can drive the transition experiments (and ensure ownership and acceptance).
- Efforts focussed on the expansion of renewables and critical minerals extraction, or the pressure towards expansion, may be a source of conflicts. However, there may be an opportunity to resolve outstanding issues regarding land ownership, indigenous rights, and/or community decision-making powers etc.

The above issues provide **a strong basis for collaborative action and learning** from territories with shared approaches, experiences and interests.

4 TERRITORIAL COOPERATION AND JUST TRANSITION

Cooperating between territories within a country (e.g. cooperation between localities or regions) and across countries can support the Just Transition efforts. Past work examining Just Transition has focussed in particular on interventions and actions at the 'top-down' (international, national) and 'bottom-up' (community level).³¹ However, interactions across and between territories, which this project has aimed to explore, can also be critical, e.g. as a means to build critical mass, to maximise impact and influence,³² and sharing good practices.

Cooperation and partnership is encouraged in delivering Just Transition. For example the approach to the production and implementation of the Just Transition plans ought to be based on an open and inclusive involvement of stakeholders and citizens, and e.g. in the case of the Nordic countries, also minority groups (e.g. Sámi). Many regions are cooperating within

their respective countries. However, **climate change does not recognise national borders**. Therefore in order to achieve the ambitious climate targets (national, EU, international), close cooperation between countries is necessary. In this way, valuable ideas can be implemented according to local needs and shared with neighbouring countries.³³ For example, cross-border cooperation may be well suited to address cross-cutting issues such as the energy transition, although thus far this may not have been sufficiently recognised and utilised, not least due to the fact that public policies are commonly implemented within national frameworks.³⁴

“

As a cross-cutting issue, the energy transition can be usefully addressed in cross-border contexts.

The objective is to develop a shared territory sustainably, to deal with common challenges together and to manage shared natural resources, taking the cross-border area as the level of action. This makes it possible to create networks of or to pool infrastructures, to share good practices, to coordinate actions taken or implement joint ones.

La Mission Opérationnelle Transfrontalière, MOT (2021) The energy transition and cross-border cooperation, The MOT Guides, n. 10

Looking to the cooperation between the EU's JTF regions in particular, there are different examples which link JTF regions from one EU Member State to another. One example, albeit not northern or Arctic, concerns the JTF regions in Germany, Poland and Czech Republic. In these countries, there are JTF regions which are all part of a wider cross-border region.

“

Abandoning coal mining should not be implemented independently in Poland, Czechia and Germany. There is a need to look for common, forward-looking solutions on all levels - environmental, social and economic. It is cooperation that can ensure the common identity of the region, providing guarantee that the transition does not end at the border of my country. The energy transition is our shared future in each of the countries of the region.

Dr. Frank Umbach, Scientific Director of European Centre for Energy and Resource Security (EUCERS), King's College, London at the debate on ['the shared future of mining regions located close to the border of PL-CZ-DE. Economy, Society, Environment'](#) in Bogatynia on 6 July 2021

4.1 Added value of territorial cooperation

Territorial cooperation is widely pursued internationally as a means for areas with shared and common interests to pool resources, build productive links and networks, and address joint challenges and opportunities.³⁵ Assessments note the challenges of working on cooperation initiatives, such as the time it takes to build up relationships, technical / administrative issues,



and how to best deliver, capitalise and carry forward results.³⁶ However, territorial cooperation is also recognised as a means to respond to both global development challenges, and local needs and resilience; and to provide specific added value.³⁷ As the following section notes, there are some widely recognised areas of ‘added value’³⁸, which also apply to the theme of delivering Just Transition.

Thematic and territorial relevance to specific area needs

Cooperation programmes and projects offer the chance to work within **strategically relevant and ‘relatable’ areas of activity** alongside territories with the same, similar, or related opportunities and challenges. For example evidence from the Northern Periphery and the Arctic Programme (NPA) shows early take up and engagement with the theme of Just Transition and the specific territorial needs of remote and peripheral areas (see Section 4.3).

On relevant themes, cooperation provides an **opportunity to link leading partners and territories**, facilitating learning, the development of new and innovative approaches, and delivering benefits as solutions are tested and implemented locally. The results are:

- the opportunity to both extend and up-scale activities, and engage and embed at local level;
- scope to support niche/emerging sectors and work on themes that fit with key agendas locally, and
- scope to work at points to achieve a “strategic fit where policies intersect with specific cross-border needs and challenges”.³⁹
- In relation to Just Transition, the opportunity to link local knowhow and experts working in the field is key to helping to support relevant, tailored place-sensitive solutions, promote innovative approaches and help communities to see how they can engage and benefit from Just Transition actions.

Achieve scale, critical mass, and profile to take action

Another ‘added value’, which is very relevant also for delivering Just Transition actions, is that **through cooperation, partners can build critical mass** to develop, test and pilot specialised / tailored / innovative solutions in ways that would not be possible working in isolation.⁴⁰

Collaboration also offers the **opportunity to operate at scale, building and accessing capacity** to extend and improve services. For example, working across different partner types and in different ways enables initiatives to capitalise on complementary expertise and work in new ways.

The recognition that **partners have a lot to offer**, as well as opportunities to learn, has been important in building confidence and giving profile and perspective to stakeholders.



International recognition has also been noted as a valuable result, for example by Scottish partners involved in European territorial cooperation programmes.⁴¹ They not only gained from the shared experience, but the process of sharing their experience with others and the opportunity to become a 'leader' in the project was also beneficial.

Scope to initiate and extend innovation and competitiveness through collaboration

Innovation in the form of new ideas, approaches and processes is central to cooperation initiatives and has led to early work in relevant fields to Just Transition. Successful innovation depends on interactions between a variety of public and private organisations. It draws on diverse skills and capabilities across smaller and larger companies, universities, public agencies, business and innovation and financial intermediaries. Territorial cooperation initiatives have developed a role in facilitating the flow and exchange of information, which underpins innovation. Additionally, many programmes are increasingly in a position to develop, apply and exploit that information, e.g. from pre-commercial research working in association with potential end users, through to product and process innovation with resulting marketable products and improved approaches to **extend and improve knowhow to better manage assets and policies**.

The scale of the projects and the collaborative approach means there is an opportunity to 'give things a go', test, trial and pilot. If it works well that is a useful outcome, if not the organisation is better informed and can come up with solutions.

In working with cooperation programmes, participants have gone on to innovate and to do what they do better, for example by:

- applying new techniques and tools;
- gaining valuable institutional capacity and learning;
- shaping institutional thinking on issues that have gone on to change institutional, policy and service development and delivery;
- entry into new markets, improved commercial offering, profit and staff hired;
- allowing issues to be addressed on a more relevant/impactful scale and offering structure and focus to existing international links; and
- establishing long-term collaborative links.⁴²

Value of productive networking and exchange of ideas and learning

Learning and exchange of ideas are vital to working more effectively, working better by linking up strengths and recognising locational nuances and appreciating differences. This type of engagement is vital to advancing ambitious goals such as Just Transition. Partners invest effort into developing innovative thinking and ideas, taking a **valuable opportunity to gain a wider perspective**.⁴³ Territorial cooperation is credited with providing regions and localities located on borders or around a shared resource with opportunities to express and pursue territorially rooted interests and mutual benefit.⁴⁴ This is especially important at a time when budgetary pressures can force a narrowing of perspectives and focus solely on core tasks.

Cooperative actions are also valued as **catalysts to stimulate bids for funding and action**, either accessing a new market or driving innovation, e.g. in emerging sectors such as the circular economy. For example, in cooperation programmes the scale of the projects and the opportunity to work in partnership is appealing to 'kick start' organisations which want to engage but lack the experience or scale to move straight into a larger application to one of the bigger funds. Thus, joint working can help not only develop new areas of activity, products and services, but also leverage funding which can be used to secure staff or consultants bringing in new expertise.

As well as the formal links, the **informal exchanges and interpersonal links** have been identified as invaluable for building enthusiasm and 'excitement' in participants which they can bring back to their own organisations. This is especially important at a time of rapid change, uncertainties and pressure, where perspectives can narrow and become more insular. The importance of recognising and capitalising on these 'soft' outcomes, retaining links and knowhow and extending/embedding them in participating organisations is something that territorial cooperation partners note as valuable.⁴⁵

Cooperation brings added value because partners:

- Can work with **relevant themes** and extend/up-scale activities and support niche/emerging sectors adapted to the areas' specific needs.
- Can work with **territories that have similar needs**.
- Can build **critical mass** in ways that would be difficult alone.
- Can **access capacity** to capitalise on complementary expertise and work in new ways.
- Can **build profile** (e.g. international recognition by sharing experience with others more widely).
- Can **build trust** which can lead to further collaborations and better outcomes.
- Can **learn, exchange ideas and gain wider perspectives, which can lead to innovative practices**.

4.2 Cooperation in the High North

Just Transition actions are included in the many cooperation initiatives involving countries and regions of the High North. Cooperation is a natural part of the wider Nordic ambitions and Just Transition is one of the many areas viewed to benefit from a cooperative approach. By cooperating together, the regions and countries benefit from wider reaching impacts and also avoid situations where activities in one place may cause harmful or negative impacts in

another. The Nordic countries in particular have worked together over several decades on issues related to the environment and climate. Similarities in geography, culture and economies provide a solid foundation for cooperation and opportunities for mutual learning and possibilities to complement each other's resources and competencies.⁴⁶ Cooperation takes place at different levels, e.g. at the government level (e.g. Nordic Council of Ministers but also e.g. the North Calotte Council which is a cooperation organisation operating under the auspices of the Nordic Council of Ministers; and the Nordic-Atlantic Cooperation (NORA) which is an intergovernmental organisation under the regional cooperation programme of the Nordic Council of Ministers), between dedicated authorities (e.g. cooperation between the environmental authorities in Norway, Sweden and Finland), through networks (e.g. cooperation through the Northern Sparsely Populated Areas (NSPA) network), through existing programme frameworks (e.g. Interreg, Barents etc.) Amongst the EU's Interreg programmes in the High North, for example the Nord, Botnia-Atlantica, the Northern Periphery and the Arctic programmes, as well as to an extent the Kolarctic programme, have addressed the theme of Just Transition. While these programmes do not make an explicit reference to Just Transition or 'label' their projects as addressing Just Transition, they have all implemented actions which contribute to the wider objectives of Just Transition.

4.3 **Examples from the ground**

4.3.1 ***Long standing role***

Territorial cooperation programmes across the High North have delivered 'Just Transition' actions for successive programme periods. Amongst the EU's Interreg programmes, relevant projects have been implemented during the 2007-13 and 2014-20 programme periods, e.g. related to energy efficiency, renewable energy, and relevant innovations. Furthermore, the programmes are committed to climate actions in 2021-27 programme period through the EU Policy Objective of 'a Greener, low carbon Europe'.

Although these programmes have engaged in Just Transition actions, the funded projects have not been 'labelled' under Just Transition actions (and not linked to the EU's Just Transition Fund), and/or have focussed more on the 'Green' rather than on the 'Just' component of the transition process. Therefore they can be overlooked in terms of their direct contribution to overall Just Transition goals. Indeed, each project has its specific targets, but their combined focus on energy transition, low-carbon solutions and renewable energy contribute to the wider Just Transition objectives. Crucially, through territorial cooperation the specific needs of communities in the High North are addressed.



Northern Periphery and the Arctic Programme (NPA)

Programme area:	In 2014-20: Finland, Ireland, Sweden, United Kingdom (Scotland and Northern Ireland), Faroe Islands, Iceland, Greenland and Norway In 2021-27: As above, but without the United Kingdom.
Type of cooperation programme:	EU's Interreg Programme (transnational)

The NPA programme has actively pursued the objectives of promoting energy efficiency, renewable energy and low-carbon solutions, offering new solutions, demonstrating options to change, and promoting innovation in an area with high energy demand, linked to extreme climates and expertise and potential in relation to alternative and renewable energy. The programme has been active implementing relevant projects since the 2007-13 programme period, but it is particularly during the 2014-20 programme period that the programme has funded a number of projects which address both the 'Green' and the 'Social' challenges facing remote and peripheral communities. Some relevant examples include:

- [REGINA](#) (Local Smart Specialisation Strategies to empower remote communities with resource-based economies) which has looked at the opportunities and challenges that arise when a large-scale, resource-based industry moves into a small, remote community, and how such a community is affected when an industry closes down.
- [HANDIHEAT](#) (Heat and Anaerobic Digestion for District Heating) focuses on energy performance in rural housing and public infrastructure challenges in peripheral and arctic regions. It supports the development of jobs and renewable energy business opportunities provided by extreme conditions in rural communities. The project aims to deliver solutions which protect rural communities from energy price fluctuations and improve social well-being and quality of living throughout the participating regions.
- [SMARTrenew](#) (Smarter Renewable Energy and Heating Management for Arctic and Northern Rural territories) aims to transfer renewable energy and smart storage solutions to dispersed regions of the NPA. The project addresses common territorial challenges including the high cost of fossil fuel dominated energy and heat supplies, remoteness, low population density, cold climate and low uptake in smart renewable technology resulting in energy poverty and lack of energy security combined with poor grid infrastructure in remote areas.
- [GREENER](#) (Clustering Remote Regions for Energy Resilience and Growth) addresses challenges such as peripherality, low population density, sparse settlements, migration, extreme climates, distances, accessibility and dependency on fossil fuels by clustering three NPA projects (SMARCTIC, LECO and h-CHP) that will use their collective capacity and complementarity to increase awareness, gain critical mass, and transfer knowledge about the latest energy solutions to public authorities, communities and businesses across the NPA.



- [HEATER](#) (Heat and Energy Education and Empowerment for Rural Areas) is a cluster project (across HANDIHEAT, SmartRenew, Techsolns, SENDoc and eLightHouse). The partners aim to collaborate and cluster the transnational outputs from previous projects to educate and empower local communities to effect positive behavioural change and inform decision makers to influence policy across climate change mitigation and adaptation and sustaining communities.
- [HUGE](#) (Hydrogen Utilization and Green Energy) aims to provide communities with energy security by delivering to them the necessary tools to assess the hydrogen renewable energy chain opportunities in the NPA area and beyond.
- [GREBE](#) (Generating Renewable Energy Business Enterprise) focuses on the challenges of peripheral and arctic regions as places for business and help develop renewable energy business opportunities provided by these extreme conditions.
- [BUSK](#) (Building Shared Knowledge Capital to support Natural Resource Governance in the Northern Periphery) aims to develop planning tools that enhance the use of participatory techniques and give assistance for decision makers concerning land use planning and natural resource governance.
- [Circular Ocean](#) is concerned with inspiring enterprises and entrepreneurs to realise the hidden opportunities associated with the increasing levels of marine litter (discarded fishing nets and ropes in the NPA region). The project aims to act as a catalyst to motivate and empower remote communities to develop sustainable and green business opportunities that will enhance income generation and retention within local regions.

4.3.2 Focus on knowledge and innovation

In addition to having a long-standing role, the territorial cooperation programmes of the High North have also been frontrunners in many ways in terms of promoting technologies, digitalisation and relevant knowledge related to Just Transition.

Nord and Botnia Atlantica Programmes / Aurora Programme

Programme area:	Nord 2014-20: Sweden, Finland, Norway and Sápmi (across the three countries). Botnia Atlantica 2014-20: Sweden, Finland and Norway Aurora 2021-27: Sweden, Finland, Norway and Sápmi
Type of cooperation programme:	EU's Interreg Programme (cross-border)

The Nord and the Botnia-Atlantica programmes of 2014-20 have funded relevant 'Just Transition' projects which have promoted topics such as like the transition to a more circular economy or research on heating technology. The 2021-27 Aurora programme has the Green Transition at the heart of the programme and notes e.g. that *'the region is in many ways a frontrunner for the green transition, with its emphasis on environmentally friendly technologies,*



digitalisation, and Arctic knowledge'. It recognises that the transition to a low carbon and circular economy needs the creation and adaptation of new business models and job profiles, relevant skillsets, and recognises that it places a demand on attitudes and on the culture.⁴⁷

Some relevant project examples of the Nord programme include:

- [CINEMA](#) (Towards Circular Economy via Eco-design and Sustainable Remanufacturing) addresses the challenge that in heavy industry there is a desire to transition from the "produce, use and discard" concept to a more circular economy where materials and components are re-manufactured. As part of the project, participating companies gain improved knowledge of opportunities and methods for repairing and re-manufacturing components in a cost-effective manner.
- [GRUDE](#) (Green Rural Economy) project collects, refines and shares knowledge of the green economy and resource efficiency in order to create sustainable Northern societies. Through these actions the project aims to save natural resources and create new employment and growth by recognising the specific features of the circular economy of the Northern communities.

Kolarctic Programme

Programme area:	In 2014-20: Finland, Sweden, Norway, Russia In 2021-27: Finland, Sweden, Norway, Russia
Type of cooperation programme:	EU's Interreg Programme (ENI cross-border)

The Kolarctic programme has also implemented projects which are very much in line with wider Just Transition objectives, for example:

- [SEESIMA](#) (Supporting Environmental Economic and Social Impacts of Mining Activity) aims to raise awareness of technological solutions to environmental impacts of mining activities in order to reduce environmental impacts and improve economic returns. This project was preceded by [SUMILCERE](#) (Sustainable Mining, Local Communities and Environmental Regulation in Kolarctic area) implemented in the 2007-13 programme period.



4.3.3 Geographically tailored solutions

The territorial cooperation programmes of the High North are tailored to meet the specific needs of remote, sparsely-populated, rural and island communities, and they do this in partnership. Given the specific conditions of these areas, cooperation can bring specific added value especially in terms of increasing the critical mass and widening the impact, although the scale of the actions is of course limited (e.g. focus on community level energy generation etc.).



Project [LECo](#) of the NPA Programme (Community Based Energy Solutions for Remote Areas) aimed to deliver locally adapted concepts for community based energy solutions in remote areas. The concepts were modelled, developed and implemented in the selected test communities in each participating country.

The objectives were to:

- Assist villages and communities to become self-sufficient in energy supply;
- To deliver a set of locally adapted concepts for community based energy solutions in remote areas;
- To promote transnational learning opportunities, knowledge exchange and networking in the sector.

4.3.1 Inclusive approach?

The stakeholders participating in territorial cooperation programmes have become more diverse over recent years. For example in the EU's Interreg programmes, the role of citizens and civil-society organisations has become a more underlined/expected part of engagement, which is very much in line with the overall partnership principle underpinning the different stages of Interreg programmes: from the drafting to implementation and evaluation of the programmes.

This engagement takes place normally as part of the wider programme development and implementation. For example, programmes such as the Nord 2014-20 and the Aurora 2021-27 include a strong Sámi element. In the 2014-20 Nord programme, the promotion of Sámi culture, the use of Sámi languages, and the strengthening of cross border collaboration and SMEs is included. The NPA 2014-20 programme has similarly fostered cooperation for example with the Indigenous Peoples Secretariat and representative organisations of the main indigenous peoples of the programme area (e.g. Inuit Circumpolar Conference and the Sámi Council). However, as Just Transition issues are not explicitly included in the programmes, there has also not been any explicit involvement or engagement of Sámi on the issues of Just Transition. To engage with groups such as the Sámi is important to deliver Just Transition in line with the principle of fairness, but it is also crucial that there is a clear understanding on how they and communities impacted by the Just Transition actions understand Just Transition (versus wider international / EU level terminology and definitions).

Transnational Interreg programmes such as the NPA cover a large area of similar countries and regions encompassing the Euro-Arctic zone, parts of the Atlantic zone and parts of the Barents region. The NPA has been particularly important in terms of also involving near-Arctic areas such as Scotland, and providing a platform for engagement for similar areas of the High North to implement Just Transition actions. Amongst the other NPA partners, the opportunity to work with Scottish partners has also been valued, not least due to their specific expertise in areas such as renewable energy.



risks.

Project **RECENT** of the NPA Programme (Renewable Community Empowerment in Northern Territories) aimed to increase energy knowledge in rural communities, and help them to have more resilient and energy efficient public infrastructure capable of handling climate change related

Example of an intangible impact of the project in Scotland:

- The community engagement approach of the RECENT project was adopted by the Scottish Government as part of Scottish Hydro Nation Policy, and informed Scottish Water's 'Renewable Energy Guide for Developers & Communities working with Scottish Water'. Furthermore, the project informed MEPs about progress and results were presented to policy makers and MEPs at a conference in Brussels.

5 KEY TAKEAWAYS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE

It is all about Just Transition...

Just Transition has become an increasingly 'popular' term at the EU and international level, not least due to the pressing climate emergency and the need for a transition to a sustainable and carbon-neutral society which takes place in a more just and inclusive manner.

Nonetheless, differences remain as to how Just Transition is understood. This project highlights the challenges of the term Just Transition, which in the EU context has become synonymous with a single fund. However, in practice and particularly for remote and peripheral communities, Just Transition covers a broader range of interventions and has been the focus on long standing, and ongoing attention.

- For the future, understanding the potential differences in how the remote and sparsely-populated communities and especially potentially vulnerable groups understand Just Transition can be crucial in planning for actions that are tailored to the needs of the people and the territories they live in.

Just Transition has different challenges depending on the territory



Peripheral, sparsely-populated and more rural areas especially in the High North face unique challenges in the Just Transition process. These are linked to issues such as geographical isolation, demographic trends (e.g. ageing, out-migration) and limited economic opportunities, including often a higher dependency on fossil-fuel intensive sectors. Delivering Just Transition in these areas entails therefore specific risks including those related to potentially vulnerable population groups (e.g. indigenous populations, youth, women etc.).

So how about delivering Just Transition together?

Climate change does not recognise national borders. Therefore in order to achieve the ambitious climate targets, close cooperation between regions and countries is necessary. **Many Territorial Cooperation programmes and initiatives of the High North have implemented relevant Just Transition actions.** However, in the absence of any 'labelling' or requirement to assess projects from a Just Transition perspective, **there is no clear oversight of the different actions and/or approaches adopted which support Just Transition.**

The Interreg programmes of the High North such as the Northern Periphery and the Arctic Programme (NPA) and the cross-border programmes of Nord and Kolarctic are examples where there have been relevant actions which are in line with the spirit and/or wider objectives of Just Transition. Each project has its specific targets, but their combined focus on energy transition, low-carbon solutions and renewable energy contribute to the wider Just Transition objectives. Crucially, they also address the specific needs of communities in the High North. Delivering Just Transition through cooperation, especially in the more remote and sparsely-populated areas, can bring specific added value, including:

- **Increased awareness, learning and sharing of good practices** between similar areas (remote, sparsely-populated, rural and island communities) can lead to new opportunities and ideas for delivering Just Transition.
- **Cooperative efforts can provide the opportunity to scale up existing / earlier actions.**
- **Cooperative efforts can foster innovation and creativity.**
- **Opportunity to create bigger impact through the critical mass** (although there may be loss of opportunity if there are changes to partnership, e.g. absence of Scottish partners in Interreg cooperation in post-2020).
- **Varied role that territorial cooperation has** in relation to the broader principles of Just Transition.

Maintaining territorial cooperation engagement faces also enormous challenges, but is increasingly important in a rapidly changing and complex environment. For example for Scotland:

- A structured, long-term approach to planning and building cooperation has allowed cooperation to mature and deliver. It is therefore important to build on the links that Scotland has with the High North.



- Scotland has much to offer and learn through cooperation, not least through its expertise in various Just Transition-related themes (e.g. renewable energy), but also regarding the involvement of stakeholders (e.g. community engagement).

For the future, there are a number of key issues and questions related to Just Transition, including:

- Is there a need to have an explicit reference to Just Transition in the territorial cooperation programme documents?
- What is the scope or what should be the focus of territorial cooperation in delivering Just Transition actions (i.e. what brings added value given resource limitations; is there a need to widen the concept)?
- What scope do territorial cooperation programmes have in engaging constructively, efficiently and genuinely with different stakeholder groups (especially potentially more vulnerable groups)?
- What are the key capacity gaps and how can these be best addressed?

There are a number of key issues to work on...

There are common messages that apply to Just Transition efforts including:

- **Transition needs policies and interventions that are tailored to local contexts** (place-based policies and interventions to remote and peripheral communities of the High North).
- **Transition needs to involve all.** Genuine engagement and inclusion of all stakeholders (not just a tick-box exercise) is crucial in a successful transition process (which includes the potentially more vulnerable population groups, e.g. youth, indigenous groups).
- **Transition requires skills development and capacity-building.** This includes addressing the specific issues faced by e.g. youth and equipping them with the capacity to be involved in decision-making.
- **Transition may need external support and resources especially if locals lack specific capacities.** The process can benefit from the experience and resources of all involved. It is important to ensure that resources and support are provided in ways that are relevant and targeted to local needs (also to avoid a situation where good external intentions fail to address the real local problems, and that external actors learn from the communities).
- **Transition results need to have clear benefits for remote and rural communities** (and are not simply driven by external actors with minor involvement of local groups – i.e. there needs to be a clear empowerment and ownership of local communities).
- **There needs to be continuity with the transition actions** (e.g. even after the end of a funded project). Local communities can play an important role in securing support and cooperation in their locality and help ensure that the actions last. There needs to be a long-term timeline for the actions.



- **Transition efforts are coordinated with other actions** (i.e. consistency with other programmes and policies), **monitored, evaluated and communicated/reported.** Linked to this, the Just Transition needs to be considered holistically, which entails consideration of the overall change in the economic, transport and social systems that the low-carbon objectives require (e.g. demand for renewables and critical minerals, the changing transport system which is a key for the peripheries, the taxation related to transport and energy, the public investment and support for infrastructure needed for low-carbon transport, energy efficient solutions etc.). Territorial cooperation is bound to touch upon multiple elements of this landscape regardless of whether 'justice' or 'fairness' is mentioned in the context of transition.

6 ANNEX

Annex 1: Key messages of the Just Transition Commission in Scotland

Key message one: Pursue an orderly, managed transition to net-zero that creates benefits and opportunities for people across Scotland

- 1 Ensure sufficiently developed roadmaps exist for the net-zero transition in Scotland, including for key technology options.
- 2 The public sector must be more prescriptive and strategic in its use of funding streams to build strong and resilient local supply chains
- 3 All levers should be used to achieve increased local content and more competitive Scottish offshore wind projects.
- 4 All public funding for climate action should be conditional on Fair Work terms
- 5 Just Transition plans for high-emitting industrial sectors of the Scottish economy and include clear milestones out to 2045.
- 6 Develop a position on the role of a carbon border tax to mitigate against the threat of offshoring emissions and jobs.
- 7 Establish a Just Transition Plan for Scotland's land and agriculture and include clear milestones out to 2045.

Key message two: Equip people with the skills and education they need to benefit from our transition to net-zero

- 8 Lay the groundwork for a flexible, accessible skills and education system that can meet the needs of net-zero while addressing existing inequalities in the labour market.
- 9 Create a skills guarantee for workers in carbon-intensive sectors.
- 10 Support small and medium sized enterprises to invest in their workforces.
- 11 Equip farmers and land managers with the skills, training, and advice they need

Key message three: Empower and invigorate our communities and strengthen local economies

- 12 Conclude the Local Governance Review at the earliest possible date
- 13 Implement Green Participatory Budgeting with agreed target levels of funding
- 14 Launch a call to action for engagement with Regional Land Use Partnerships
- 15 Apply the lessons learned from Scotland's Climate Assembly across the development of all policies for tackling climate change
- 16 Empower and resource local authorities to deliver a just and green recovery
- 17 A new "Sustainable Scotland" brand should be created to support Scottish agriculture deliver climate action and to empower consumers to choose sustainably produced food and drink
- 18 Scottish Government, local authorities and developers must commit to creating communities that embed low-carbon lifestyles, while improving our health and wellbeing
- 19 A statutory public interest test should be developed for any changes in land ownership over a certain threshold

Key message four: Share the benefits of climate action widely; ensure costs are distributed on the basis of ability to pay.

20 Decisive action must be taken to ensure that all consumers are able to benefit from the increasing availability of new ways of buying and selling electricity

21 Any additional costs for consumers associated with emissions reduction must be linked to ability to pay.

22 The power of public sector pension funds and business support funding must be directed towards ensuring companies align with the just transition to net-zero

23 New methods for funding the transition should be developed that mobilise finance towards local projects

24 We must move beyond GDP as the main measure of national progress. For a just transition to be at the heart of Scotland's response to climate change, Scottish Government must champion frameworks that prioritise wellbeing.

Source: <https://www.gov.scot/publications/transition-commission-national-mission-fairer-greener-scotland/pages/5/>

Notes

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⁴¹ Laganà, G. (2020) The Added Value of the Ireland-Wales Cooperation Programme, 14 September 2020 <<https://www.centreonconstitutionalchange.ac.uk/news-and-opinion/ireland-wales-programme>>

⁴² McMaster, I. and Vironen, H. (2019) European Territorial Cooperation in Scotland post 2020, EPRC Report for Scotland Europa

⁴³ A study of the Ireland-Wales programme notes "despite the relatively small size of the Interreg Ireland-Wales programme, the evolution of Ireland-Wales cross-border cooperation under its aegis has proved essential to the empowerment of policy networks in Ireland and Wales. This is one of the programme's most important achievements. Cross-border networks in Ireland and Wales have gained independence from the actions that have formed them, they have enforced and introduced boundaries to strengthen their position in new cross-border processes in areas of interests such as scientific research, culture and tourism." Laganà, G and Wincott, D. (2020) The Added Value of the Ireland Wales Cooperation programme, Wales Governance centre, July 2020.

⁴⁴ Laganà, G. (2020) The Added Value of the Ireland-Wales Cooperation Programme, 14 September 2020 <<https://www.centreonconstitutionalchange.ac.uk/news-and-opinion/ireland-wales-programme>>

⁴⁵ McMaster, I. and Vironen, H. (2019) European Territorial Cooperation in Scotland post 2020, EPRC Report for Scotland Europa

⁴⁶ Sundtoft T (2018) The Nordic Countries in the Green Transition – more than just neighbours, Nordic Council of Ministers

⁴⁷ Interreg Aurora 2021-2027 Final Draft Version, June 2021 Downloads/Interreg-Aurora-Final-Draft.pdf